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define international law — precisely the great project which another American, Congressman Bartholdt of St. Louis, has lately revived, with brighter hopes of success.

From another American, Andrew Carnegie, came the princely gift of one and a half million dollars to house the Hague Tribunal in a permanent and palatial home.

And when, in the fullness of time, that tribunal was ready for business and stood waiting for recognition, it was an American President who started its beneficent machinery with an old dispute between Mexico and the United States, and who induced Venezuela to be number two.

THE OLD WORLD CALLS.

It is strange, but true, that Americans do not recognize half so clearly as foreigners do that the logic of international peace forces this country to the front as the ordained and intrepid champion of this cause. No leader of this movement in all Europe has a broader cosmopolitan grasp of this problem than the Baroness von Suttner of Austria. She is known the world over as the author of "Lay Down your Arms," the war novel which influenced the Czar to summon the nations at The Hague. From her girlhood she has been on terms of familiar intimacy with the rulers, cabinets, legislators and progressive leaders of Europe. Her mastery of a dozen tongues unlocks to her not only Europe's inner thoughts and undercurrents of purpose, but its vast archives of diplomacy. She was the only woman who had a seat of honor in the first Conference of The Hague.

The words which she wrote in 1906 are a truthful echo of Europe's views and hopes. "To-day" she says, "the movement for universal peace has reached such a point, and is associated with such high and decisive political problems, that the acts of the individual in letters or societies have been pushed into the background. It has become the question of the hour. What we must do now is to develop the existing organizations, such as the Interparliamentary Union, the Hague Tribunal, and create an international political system that will give a legal basis to universal peace. Practical work toward this ideal end is peculiarly the part of America. It is quite natural, therefore, that it should be the United States group of the Interparliamentary Union that has formulated a plan for accomplishing this grand result.

How easy for Americans to read between these lines! To see Europe, bound like Andromache (by the iron chains of tradition and jealousies and diplomacy) to the rock of War, as the old established and grewsome arbiter of international quarrels — yearning and praying for the young, unfettered republic of the West to rush forward, a modern Perseus, and cut these galling thongs, and lead her, free and unshackled, into the quiet, bloodless Temple of Justice at The Hague.

It is now the opportunity of the merchants of this young republic, by organization and emphatic influence, to furnish our American Perseus with the prowess, the nerves of steel, the chivalric courage to answer this Old-World cry for relief, and put a civilized end to the horrors, the burdens, the stupidity of war.

Mr. William Eyre has just left Lima, Peru, for England, after having successfully arbitrated the dispute between the Peruvian Company of London and the Peruvian government.

Worldism versus Nationalism.

BY MARCUS J. LEHMAN.

[We publish this excellent oration, which was delivered at Emporia, Kan., at the annual intercollegiate oratorical contest last spring, as a sample of the thinking and work which students are doing in very many of the colleges and universities throughout the country.—ED.]

Man, a born sceptic, takes little for granted in the whole realm of thought. By nature conservative, he bases his philosophy, not upon how he ought to live, but upon how he actually has lived. Experience, his great teacher, has shown that conservatism is more than a counterpoise to radicalism. Dogma holds progress in her relentless grasp, and advancement is secured only at the point of bitter necessity. Conservatism is often over-conservative; while radicalism, in order to effect advancement, often appears irrational and over-radical.

In the sphere of international relations there has always been a conservatism, a scepticism, which has denied the unity of mankind. In accordance with his instinctive reserve, man has always rejected the doctrine of the brotherhood of nations as one of the absurdities of optimism. This scepticism encourages false ideals and institutions and stirs up sectional selfishness, prejudice and controversy. To-day, happily, there is growing up a broader and juster view of society, a view which accepts humanity as a single entity. This world-sentiment, this altruism, we may call worldism, opposing it to nationalism, that spirit which exalts a people above the race. These are the two forces that meet in ceaseless conflict in the fields of economics, politics and national morality.

In the first place, the spirit of nationalism is economic ruin, for it means the isolation of commercial activities in an age when interdependence is gaining recognition as a principle in all the relations of mankind. Modern science has made the whole world a veritable whispering gallery. The humblest citizen informs himself daily in the affairs of humanity and is in his own home a citizen, not of his own country alone, but of the world. Social intercourse is slowly weaving the threads of interest into a perfect fabric of vital interdependence; yet this intercourse is still in its incipency. Commerce has merged the material interests of nations until national boycott has become self-destruction and a closed-door policy a crime against humanity. War, the erstwhile benefactor of non-belligerents, is now admitted to be "suicide" not only of combatants but of the whole commercial world. Each departing ship takes with it the best of modern life; each returning bark comes laden with the world's contemporary thought. The well-being of nations already demands that art, invention, literature, philosophy, religion — everything be cosmopolitan. National selfishness and seclusion are an economic fallacy, and must surrender to the mightier spirit of world-interest.

Worldism, on the other hand, recognizes not only that material interdependence is vital, but that mutual service is the great economic principle underlying all international relations. The scepticism of nationalism has always said, "Whatever is good for me is bad for you," but experience says, "Whatever is good for me is good for you." Mutuality is the law for nations as well as for men. Producer and consumer are mutually dependent, and as the services of labor and capital should be justly mutual, so indeed must be the relations of nations

Interdependence is therefore a natural law, and mutual service is mutual benefit.

In the second place, let us compare these forces in their bearing upon political relations. Nationalism asserts the sovereignty of nations; worldism proclaims the political supremacy of the whole human race. National jurisdiction does not extend over all mankind, but only over a single nation. Sanguinary history can justly attribute much of its stain to the destructive policy of national self-assertion, a policy grounded in a perilous delusion — a great historic belief that each nation is born and reared by divine commission to rule her neighbors. National jurisdiction must be restricted to its proper domain. Nations must be brought into proper political relations "as equal subordinate parts of one great whole," subject at all times to the will of the race. National dueling and anarchy must be abolished, and nations must be made subject to the will of all mankind. The attainment of this world-restraint will be the great achievement of future statesmanship.

A political status such as we have here conceived can never be attained without governmental coöperation. But nationalism spurns the thought of governmental coöperation. It maintains that world-sentiment is sufficient, without governmental machinery, to execute the will of society. International law and advisory congresses give such impression. Individual aggression was never curbed by any such sentimentalism in public opinion; no more will the encroachments of nations give way to such fallacy. Worldism, on the contrary, urges the political organization of the world. National political independence, like individual liberty, is an inalienable right; but like individual freedom, it must be united with a state of social restraint. World organization is an imperative need, but such a consummation will never be reached except through a surrender of dogmatic national self-reserve accompanied by helpful and amicable coöperation.

Lastly, let us compare the ethical ideals of these contending principles. Nationalism maintains that the national unit is the court of last resort in moral problems; worldism demands that humanity fulfill this function. As humanity is greater than any nation, so are her interests, both material and moral, supreme over those of any nation. The community of interests is indeed the world; the good of humanity must be the aim of moral consideration. Let the friends of nationalism talk of the struggle for existence, but so long as man is a moral being, their contention has no place in social or moral theory. Might has no place in the realm of right.

Interdependence, moreover, involves obligations. We have seen how, in the past, men have merged their interests, and how family, clan or tribal selfishness has given way until the bounds of the moral universe have extended to include merged families, interdependent clans and mutually dependent tribes. It was natural and just that national boundary lines should have included the moral self so long as there was little or no commercial dependence; but now that such dependence has become vital the policy of seclusion is unjust and ruinous. Here it is that the moral law intervenes with its demand that nations practice the Golden Rule; that men, in their international relations as well as in their individual relations, do as they would be done by.

Nationalism declares further that nations have a separate code of ethics — a sort of quasi-morality. Worldism, on the other hand, demands that nations adopt a common standard of life. Neither congresses nor rulers have power over the moral law. This law binds men in all their relations, whether individual or aggregate, whether private or official. When God said, "Thou shalt not covet" and "Thou shalt not steal," He meant these prohibitions as truly for great aggregations of men as for individuals; and when He said, "Thou shalt not lie" and "Thou shalt not kill," He did not commission special agents to commit such outrage in the name of government. International morality, then, must be grounded in integrity and justice.

Nationalism, however, has gradually been obliged to admit the right of commercial fairness, but she still maintains force to be the ruling factor. Worldism, on the contrary, proclaims the law of love. Human experience proves to an absolute conclusion that the natures of nations and men are alike. With nations, as with men, malevolence provokes malevolence, while love calls forth love. National conflict results not so much from the commercial differences as from the passions of men as revealed in the national life. The great lesson that nations have yet to learn is this: that in their affairs, as in the affairs of men, love is mightier than force. As long as nations cherish a spirit of malevolence, so long will there be discord; enthrone charity in the national heart and harmony will begin her reign. Diplomacy will never cease to employ subtle means so long as men believe that national interests demand them. When national egotism has been swallowed up in altruism, then, and only then, will internationalism cease to be one prolonged game of chicanery; then, and not until then, will international wrong-doing and controversy have ceased. You cannot "organize the millennium"; it must be a spiritual evolution, working according to the law of human brotherhood.

This, in brief, is the doctrine of worldism. But does it bear any direct relation to us as a great country? The problem has two elements: the individual and the national. Since nationalism is but the reflection of aggregate individualism, public sentiment is the great dynamic, and civic progress always bears a direct ratio to intellectual and moral elevation. America's attitude toward the rest of humanity in respect to economic, political and ethical relations, then, will be that held by Americans. We must have, therefore, a true idea of society. We must realize that America was never intended to rule her neighbors, but that she may have been reared to lead them. Sensational patriotism must give way to a sober regard for society, a regard which accepts the uttermost parts of the earth as country and humanity as fellow-countrymen. As for the peculiarly national aspect of the problem, we must direct America's course of action, not in accordance with the interests of the few, but rather for the welfare of the whole human family.

Such should be our attitude toward our sister nations; but that is not enough. Attitude alone never accomplished anything. Progress is always proportional to effort put forth. What we as true patriots must do, is to inaugurate a campaign against the false ideals which have crept into our social life, and inculcate in their stead true ideals, ideals recognizing a wider and juster

relationship. We must impress upon an all but indifferent pulpit the true significance of its responsibility. We must muzzle a sensational, belligerent press, and demand truthfulness in the presentation of facts. Pulpit and press have the power to bring us into "intelligent and sympathetic touch" with the rest of the world. They, they alone, can teach us that other peoples besides ourselves can be honest, just, magnanimous. National vain-glory and swaggering, whether emanating from official or unofficial sources, must be discouraged, and we must rid our civilizing agencies of "rebarbarizing" influences and organize them into one systematic, harmonious effort to "make reason and the will of God prevail."

Humanity has wandered long enough in the labyrinth of false ideals. She has groped long enough in the black night of national seclusion and prejudice. But now she walks, with hesitating steps indeed, but with increasing confidence, in the growing light of a new day — a day when she may enjoy the full blessedness of her material and moral endowment, with a "civilization based on reason and right, on friendship and mutual service."

Pamphlets Received.

ALMANACH DE LA PAIX FOR 1908. Preface by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. Published by the *Association de la Paix par le Droit*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit & Co., 8 rue Garancière. 72 pages. Price, 20 centimes.

THE WAY OF HONOR OUT OF THE PHILIPPINES. By Professor C. M. Mead, LL.D. 4 pages. Boston: The Anti-Imperialist League.

ALMANACCO ILLUSTRATO FOR 1908. PRO PACE. By E. T. Moneta, A. Fogazzaro, E. de Amicis and others. Milan, Italy: The Lombard Peace Union, 21 Portici Settentrionali.

CARNAGE OR COMMERCE. An Address delivered before the Business Men's Club of Cincinnati. By Samuel P. Butler. 16 Pages. Published by the Arbitration and Peace Society of Cincinnati.

REPORT OF THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE, held at Boston, November 30, 1907. Contains in full the annual address of the president, Hon. Moorfield Storey. Boston: The Anti-Imperialist League.

OUR COUNTRY RIGHT OR WRONG? By Professor D. B. Wilson, D.D., of the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa. Address delivered at the Seminary September 17, 1907.

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